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"Yo, is that a gamer girl? I have a boner"; Gendered aggression in competitive video games

Abstract

As a long time member of the video game community, personal experience reveals that women within the competitive gaming scene are regularly faced with sexual harassment and aggression from their male counterparts. The purpose of this study is to explore why this environment results in these forms of hostility towards women. This study utilizes mixed methodology. I pull examples from my own experience, and perform a content analysis of documented incidents of aggression against other women in the community. Findings reveal that factors such as the hypermasculinity of gaming culture, and men's ideological dominance over women are both contributors to creating this sexist environment. Although there are a number of coping strategies in dealing with harassment, the solutions to these problems lies in engaging more men in the prevention of violence against women. What began as a video game communication discourse study, has evolved into an exploration of how male ideologies inform behavior and feelings towards women, and examining how these issues manifest in the digital realm.

Keywords: misogyny, trolling, gamer culture, violence, autoethnography

About the Author: Madison Turner was born and raised in northern Virginia. Since childhood, her love for video games has consumed many hours of her freetime. She studied this area of communication research as an undergraduate student at the University of Mary Washington.

Introduction

The purpose of this study lies in exploring the sexist nature of the competitive gaming community, while performing a discourse analysis on how the community communicates with women. Analyzing the sexist nature of the gaming community is not a new area of study. Other studies of gaming communication have focused on hypermasculinity as a result of sexism within game development, female character representation, and story plotlines. While issues in these areas are relevant to study, I feel that they place too much of the blame on the games themselves, and ignore what demographic it is that dominates gaming spaces. There is a smaller, but growing, female player base in competitive gaming, as compared to other genres. Because of this, studies rarely focus on studying the sexism of competitive gaming, which blatantly reveals itself through verbal attacks as opposed to underlying themes of the story. The purpose of my study lies in exploring the ideologies and actions of players in the competitive gaming community. I specifically want to gain a better understanding of the actual words and topics chosen to assault women, and the underlying reasons of why this occurs. Common themes of mens aggression towards women included comments to women's inferiority, vulgar name calling, and many different forms of sexual harassment. It is not to say that all men in the community are guided by ideologies of sexism, but it remains necessary to study the systemic sexist structures within the culture to understand how they affect the general player base (Phillips, 2015).

Literature Review

As the purpose of this study is to understand why this environment is so hostile towards females, it remains necessary to understand the hypermasculinity of gaming culture, and the

factors that have led to the creation of these spaces. There were a number of sources within communication research that informed my understanding of competitive gaming culture, and provided further insight into men's typical discourse with women in the real world. The literature revealed that there are a number of factors that contribute to creating this hostile gaming environment. Important topics included the hypermasculinity of gaming culture, men's ideological dominance over women, and how men react to being rejected by a sexualized female.

There are numerous sources that cover topics that contribute to the hypermasculinity of competitive gaming culture. In an exploration of gender framing in competitive strategies of poker games, Wolkomir explains that women participating in these male dominated competitive sports are labeled as inferior, yet harshly criticized if they do not perform at the same level of their male counterparts (Wolkomir, 2012). Although women face criticism when they do not perform at a high level, studies of Dahl have found that "Men experienced threats to masculinity when outperformed by women in masculine domains; when outperformed by a woman, men reported more concern about how they looked to others, which predicted increased anger and the subsequent sexualization of the woman" (Dahl, Vescio, & Dahl, Weaver, 2015). Regardless of the performance of the woman, she is attacked or sexualized by the men in the competitive space.

Further studies have shown that when men are interacting with a sexualized woman, the activation of heightened sex goals predicts aggression towards the woman if she rejects him romantically (Blake, Bastian, & Denson, 2017). Within male dominated spaces, women are aggressively sexualized when they are performing badly and when they are performing well. They are sexualized simply because they are female players. Men regularly put women in uncomfortable situations where rejection is the only option, but rejection leads to more harassment and aggression towards the female. Like catcalling, men expect the woman to be

flattered by their unwarranted sexual comments, and take out their frustration of being rejected on the woman herself. Although these studies were not referring to competitive gaming, it applies perfectly because this is something that frequently occurs in the gaming community.

In a textbook released in 2020, Cote surveys the various ways females have experienced sexism within the gaming community, and outlines the strategies they use to mask their female identity, and avoid harassment once it has been revealed. This text documents both positive and negative experiences of women in the community, and gives insight into how playing with strangers or friends can affect the gaming experience. I found that my personal experience differed from some of the experiences women had mentioned in the interviews. This makes it all the more important to study these differences to further understand what causes incidents of harassment. In some experiences, playing with friend groups resulted in a more positive gaming experience, whereas other women experienced an increase in sexist behavior (Cote, 2020). One woman who shared her negative experience, noted that even after asking them to stop, the verbal attacks continued from the group (Cote, 2020). The continuation of abuse after having been asked to stop, relates to the studies of Jackson Katz, who believes that instead of women, non-abusive men should be responsible for holding other men accountable for their sexist actions (Tedx Talks, 2013).

Katz is an educator who has written a number of articles regarding issues of gender violence, violent masculinity, and preventative measures in these areas. Throughout his research, Katz emphasizes the importance in recognizing that gender violence issues, commonly referred to in society as women's issues, are inherently men's issues (Barata, 2016). He discusses how the language we use and how we communicate about these social issues reveals underlying ideologies of the world that victim blame women, and distance men from being a part of the

problem (Tedx Talks, 2013). As the dominant group, men frequently employ silencing strategies to avoid and undervalue conversations that label them as the perpetrators of harm against other groups. The information in these studies of gender violence was used to offer possible solutions to reduce gendered violence in the competitive gaming community.

Sexism within this community is a difficult area to study as many of the perpetrators of this verbal abuse will write their actions off as harmless trolling, and label their victims as sensitive or lacking humor. There is little work done within the communication field of "flaming." Research in this area has "routinely trivialized the experiences of flame targets and downplayed victims' experiences of digital aggression" (Jane, 2012). In a study of online discourse, Jane uses the term "e-bile", to "describe the extravagant invective, the sexualized threats of violence, and the recreational nastiness" which have become normalized aspects of online culture and gaming communication (Jane, 2012). "Both mainstream media reports and scholarly research show that women are more likely to be the targets and less likely to be the authors of this type of discourse" (Jane, 2012). Accordingly, reducing incidents of this behavior lies in correcting the actions of the men of the community, as opposed to placing so much of an emphasis on women's experiences and coping strategies. While discussing examples of how women are affected is crucial to understanding why this is a serious issue, in order to find solutions, the focus of the conversation needs to be directly aimed at the male dominant majority.

Methods

In performing the research, a few different methodologies were employed to effectively explore this area of communication research. As a female in the community, sexual harassment and aggression towards women is a regular occurrence, and something I have experienced

frequently while participating in competitive gaming. My research questions ask why the community is so hostile towards women, in hopes to develop possible solutions in combatting sexism in competitive gaming. I will be pulling examples from my own personal experience, while also researching documented videos and interviews of similar harassment happening to other women in the community. I employ a mixed methodology using autoethnography and content analysis. In employing this autoethnography, "a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context" and learning of experiences from outside sources, this study connects personal experiences to wider social understandings (Butz & Besio, 2009).

This study concentrates on the experiences of women playing a video game called valorant, a 5v5, team based, tactical shooter. This game was chosen for analysis because of the extremely competitive and toxic nature of the game. While the research of this study focused on this game, the study also uses examples from similar games to provide context of how this community functions in comparison to other genres. A study of aggression in video games states that although they did not control the competitive content of the video games studied, results found that "it may be that our finding that violent video games increase aggression can be (in part) accounted for by differences in how competitive the game is perceived to be" (Hollingdale & Dame); Greitemeyer, 2014). Until varying competitive levels of games are compared, this remains an area of study that may reveal additional contributing factors to aggression in video games.

"Sports are understood to be a means for people, especially men, to show off", because of this, trash talk and banter between opponents is typical within competitive gaming, as it is in sports. (Kniffin & Palacio, 2018). In studies of discourse in sports competitions, results found that men participate in trash talking significantly more than women do (Kniffin & Pamp);

Palacio, 2018). Not only this, but the study found that women are less competitively motivated. Women are more motivated by beating their own personal records, focusing on self improvement as opposed to the accomplishments of others (Kniffin & Palacio, 2018).

Although valorant is a team-based game, the nature by which teammates must depend on each other to win, as well as the fact that everyone's score is visible during the game, competition between teammates is a common occurrence. Fundamentally, competitive video games promote competition among teammates through ranking systems, and rewards for being the best player on the team.

A unique aspect of this game is it's reliance on voice communication during gameplay.

As it is out of the ordinary to remain silent on a team, there were plentiful examples of verbal insults and other acts of aggression available for documentation. The examples of this aggression only increased with the presence of female teammates, whose identity is easily revealed through the use of voice chat. These incidents were recorded and qualitatively analyzed in search of common communication themes and ideologies.

Findings and Analysis

While many consider trolling and trask talk to be vital aspects of the competitive gaming experience, the vulgarity of the way men speak to women in the community is excessive and cannot always be dismissed as playful banter. Sexism within the gaming community is frequently written off as harmless trolling. In this form of chauvinism, women's experiences are dismissed as not being serious, and labels the women as over dramatic or sensitive (Jane, 2012). As my research documented specific uncensored examples of verbal attacks on women, it is revealed

that women in this community are subject to disproportionately more sexist interactions than men.

Unlike other games where the identity of the player can remain anonymous, voice chat enabled men to sexualize the women studied as soon as they spoke and their feminine voice was heard. Because women in the community are over sexualized, as mentioned in the study of rejection, men therefore, are likely to display aggression if the woman rejects any of his comments or advances. In one documented instance, a female player experienced aggression from her male teammate immediately after turning down a "video chat e-date." "I just offered to order you uber eats you dumb bitch ... You fucking fool" he stated in response to her rejection (Xen Snuffy, 2020, 0:38). Results also found that men would frequently ask for sexual favors, once again putting women in a position with no choice but to reject them, providing men with a reason to feel resentment. "As long as you suck my dick it's okay" said one user (Solstice, 2020, 1:29). "He just said he wants to rail you ... He just said he really wants to suck you off" stated another (Alyek, 2021, 1:55).

E-bile finds itself perfectly nestled within the competitive gaming community. Jane's study provides some insight to how "in such cases, e-bile appears to be a pleasurable—albeit competitive—game" in itself (Jane, 2012). Those participating in this game compete to say the most vulgar, offensive statements in hopes of causing an emotional reaction and gaining attention from their audience (Jane, 2012). Results of my study have shown that once a player's identity as a female is revealed, women are seen as easy targets to attack, in hopes of eliciting a dramatic response from her. It frequently occurred that the vulgarity and explicit nature of verbal attacks increased throughout the duration of games, as other men joined in the competition of finding creative ways to berate the female teammate. In an effort to harass the woman, one example

displayed men asking the player about increasingly inappropriate topics. The questions from her teammates progressed as follows, "How much do you weigh? What size is your bra? What size tampons? You haven't answered us ... what size pussy do you wear?" (Solstice, 2020, 6:18).

Results documented incidents in which men were pressuring and encouraging other males to engage in sexist behavior. This example shows men engaging in sexist behavior, and demanding that the other men present participate as well. "Call her a bitch. Call her a hoe. Let this bitch know what she is, do it ...Tell her, I want you to say to that bitch, you're ugly anyway, whore" (Xen Snuffy, 2020, 2:53). Within typical e-bile discourse, "Female targets are dismissed as both unacceptably unattractive man haters and hypersexual sluts who are inviting sexual attention or sexual attacks" (Jane, 2012). Congruent with the ideologies expressed within Incel communities, "women are the objects of both desire and contempt" (Glace, Dover, & Samp; Zatkin, 2021).

Due to the frequency of verbal attacks in this game, there is an option to mute teammates who are being toxic. While this is a commonly used feature of many games, and an effective strategy of avoiding harassment once it has begun, it does not solve the root of the issue. Because of the existence of this feature, the negative experiences of women are often dismissed by stating that the female being attacked should "just mute them". This rebuttal offered to women is not an effective solution to dealing with harassment online. As displayed through documented examples, dedicated trolls can easily find other ways to ruin the gaming experience of their targeted victim. These methods can, but do not always have to involve communication. My research reveals that there are instances where muting a teammate results in more acts of aggression. In one example, in response to being sexually harassed, the female player muted the perpetrator. This termination of his ability to verbally attack her, resulted in him spending the

remainder of the game intentionally team-killing her, doing everything in his power to ruin her gaming experience (Alyek, 2020).

This reveals that "just muting" is not the solution for dealing with sexist men online, and the fact that this is a proposed solution is an issue in itself as it is a clear form of victim blaming. The responsibility of ridding the community of this behavior lies in the hands of the offenders, not the victims. The strategies individual victims can employ only serve to benefit their own experience, as it is impossible to make a change in the community unless changes occur in the players causing harm.

A common stereotype women are frequently associated with, is the label of the "Gamer girl". Cote notes that because the terms "gamer" and "girl" are seen as very different identities, "even players who described the online experience as positive expressed frustration at the fact that, when they spoke up online, the person they were speaking with often ignored the content of their statement in favor of surprise about their gender" (Cote, 2020). This label of gamer girl places a stereotype on women that distinguishes them from their male counterparts, who make up the majority of the player base. What needs to be encouraged is the normalization of females in gaming spaces, by allowing them to identify as gamers, without gender being an exclusionary factor in holding that title. This community needs to get rid of the idea of the existence of the "gamer girl". There are only "women who play games", just as there are "men who play games"; otherwise known as gamers.

Conclusion

In anonymous spaces that value masculinity, lies opportunities to express masculinity through untraditional means. Due to the unmasculine qualities associated with the nerd identity,

nerdy men are not seen as particularly manly in real life (Kendall, 2011). As they are not able to have a masculine image of themselves offline, they develop an entitled brand of masculinity that presents itself online. In the gaming community, this can present itself in the form of aggression or oversexualization towards women.

Other examples of male aggrieved nature include the ideologies of members within the "Incel" community. This is not to state that all men in the competitive gaming community are "incels", but rather to point out similarities in the mindsets of sexist men within these groups. The term incel means to be "involuntary celibate". In labeling oneself as involuntarily being celibate implies that it is not by personal choice, and they feel that they should be entitled to it. As ridding oneself of celibacy requires the desire of a female, incel men feel that women are to blame for their lack of entitled sexual experiences. Although it was not the intended outcome, the incel community has become a place of misogyny and violence (Glace, Dover, & Dover

The hateful and violent nature of the incel community has resulted in "a number of instances of mass violence ... committed by individuals identifying themselves as incels" (Glace, Dover, & Early, 2021). In one example, Elliot Rodger, after posting a manifesto online, killed six people and comitted suicide. "He stated that his violent actions were motivated by his experiences of social rejection, especially romantic rejection from women" (Glace, Dover, & Early, 2021). These incidents of violence by the Incel community "were attributed to perceived wrongs done to them by women, who denied them the sexual access that they felt they deserved as men" (Glace, Dover, & Early, 2021). While it is not to say that all men who identify as incels would act on the things they state online, these incidents reveal very real

motivations behind the things people say online, which when not taken seriously, can lead to real world consequences offline.

Jane explains that receiving threats of rape and violence online effects women in different ways than it does men. Men generally do not take these threats as seriously as women. For example, male columnists noted that threats of violence "didn't really worry" them, another inisisiting "that on-line death threats should only change 'a few minutes of your morning—the minutes spent hitting delete on your email'" (Jane, 2012). This is not the experience women have with these types of threats. Emotional responses to these experiences range from "irritation, sadness, vulnerability, unsafeness... to distress, fear and violation" (Jane, 2012). These threats of violence towards women can result in very real, offline consequences, even when the actions mentioned in the threats are not committed. In one example of this, Kathy Sierra, a tech blogger, cancelled a public appearance due to graphic images of her as a sexually mutilated corpse began circulating online, accompanying messages such as "fuck off you boring slut ... i hope someone slits your throat and cums down your gob" (Jane, 2012). While Sierra remained physically unharmed, the same cannot be said for other women who have received similar threats in online communities.

Online discourse and acts of aggression are not taken seriously in digital spaces. Society differentiates offline and online experiences as real life and not real life events, but realistically, the line between online spaces and reality is much thinner. Take the murder of Bianca Devins as an example, or the other countless women in online communities who are regularly stalked or confronted in real life by men who discovered them online. Bianca Devins was murdered at 17 by a man she knew from online communities. The world was informed of her death when her

murderer uploaded images of her body to the various servers she was once a part of ("Murder of BIANCA DEVINS", 2021).

Another way that men harass women is through stalking. Victims of stalking are forced to live in fear every day of their lives. One woman, going by the name Sweet Anita, has frequently been a victim of stalking, and fears that one day her stalker will kill her. He has messaged her numerous times, informing her of his wishes and plans to stab her. While threats of this nature online are often dismissed and written off as meaningless, this is an example of how these messages cannot be taken lightly. She noted that the man had appeared at her home several times. He had slept outside her house, followed her to stores, and had even been detained armed with a knife on her property. Even after contacting the police, and sharing this information with her millions of followers, she does not have the ability to do anything about the situation (Kaif, 2020). Bringing awareness to the situation or attempting to involve police proved ineffective as the police have not done anything to help the situation. This is not an uncommon occurrence. She shared this information in a video which included interviews with other female content creators, who have faced similar incidents of stalking.

There are many parallels like this to the real world, and how men treat women in general. It appears that when women are being attacked in any realm, society deems it is the responsibility of the woman to prevent or end the assault, as opposed to the responsibility lying in the attacker not attacking women. Katz argues that although gendered violence is inherently a men's issue, men have developed the ability to remain excluded from the conversation, placing the attention and blame on the victim. He draws parallels to other world issues including racism, and aggression towards certain sexual orientations. In each of these incidents, the typical aggressor, the straight white male, is privileged as the dominant majority group, and therefore

uses silencing strategies to undervalue the experiences and issues within minority groups, keeping the attention off of themselves (Tedx Talks, 2013).

What started as an exploration of communication discourse in video games, has become a study of how male ideologies view and communicate with women in all aspects of life, not just the digital. In these gaming spaces, remaining anonymous and not having to see the female again after attacking her creates an environment where men can be extremely hateful with little consequence. I argue that men's ideological dominance over women makes them more aggressive and less tolerant of feminine presence, but it is the hyper masculinity of gaming culture combined with the sexual frustration of being rejected by women that contribute how this aggression manifests in competitive gaming (Dahl, Vescio, & Samp; Weaver, 2015; Blake, Bastian, & Samp; Denson, 2017).

The current solutions and most used strategies of women in the community to avoid harassment involve hiding their feminine identity. If their female identity is exposed unexpectedly, women then employ tactics to fend off or stop the harassment that is occuring. While hiding or muting protects the individual from temporary harm, this does not solve anything and only further adds to the stereotype that women in the gaming community are a rarity. While it is important to understand how the victims of any issue are affected, I argue that more of the importance lies in studying the perpetrators of abuse, males, as they are ultimately responsible for the existence of sexism in this community. As examined in the work of Katz, direct parallels can be drawn between this solution offered to women, and similar ineffective solutions of the real world with regard to what women choose to wear, and where they choose to be. In all cases, the victim is blamed for the actions that someone else did to them, all while the perpetrator remains entirely excluded from the conversation.

The goal of Katz work lies in engaging more men in participating in reducing men's violence against women across the globe. In a chapter titled, *Engaging men in prevention of violence against women*, he states "Men commit the overwhelming majority of violence against women, and continue to hold the majority economic and policital power and cultural authority worldwide" (Barata, 2016). Katz argues that gender violence is an issue that has historically been misunderstood, placing men in the background, only involving them peripherally (Barata, 2016). In order for any changes to actually happen with regard to men's discourse with women, men need to assist women in holding men accountable for their violent and abusive actions, and assist in changing misogynist ideologies that underlie sexist abuse (Barata, 2016).

There are obstacles put in place by male perpetrators that make it difficult for women to speak out about serious issues. "Speaking out, they say, risks accusations that they lack humour, are weak or thin-skinned, or are opposed to the principles of free speech" (Jane, 2012). If men will only take other opinions into consideration if they come from the mouth of a man in higher power than them, then it is the responsibility of men in power to assist women in reducing mens violence, by holding other men accountable for their sexist ideas and actions. "The goal is to get men who are not abusive to challenge men who are" (Tedx Talks, 2013, 12:12). It is women that have been the leaders of movements condemning sexism, but it is by the nature of that sexism, that men need to assist women in speaking out and correcting these issues instead of sitting alongside watching it happen.

Historically, women have always been discouraged from entering male dominated spaces.

Things such as sports, and universities feared being viewed as less elite once women were allowed to enter the space. Entering the video game community is another instance of women

having to overcome immense obstacles before being offered space and respect within male dominated communities.

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